

Message Text

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /066 W
-----064404 232231Z /73

O R 232000Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1158
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 4239

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, UR
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING; LETTER FROM 71 CONGRESSMEN ON
SCHARANSKY

FOR EUR/RPM

FROM USDEL CSCE

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR HAS RECEIVED LETTER FROM CONGRESSMAN
LESTER WOLFF REQUESTING THAT HE DISTRIBUTE TO ALL DELEGATIONS
COPIES OF LETTER SIGNED BY 71 MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-
TIVES WHICH ATTACKS SOVIETS FOR ARREST OF SCHARANSKY AND
PERSECUTION OF ORLOV CSCE MONITORING GROUP AND URGES DELEGA-
TIONS "TO INSIST UPON A FORMAL DISCUSSION OF EFFORTS TO
MONITOR GOVERNMENTAL COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF
HELSINKI." WE OF COURSE AGREE WITH AIMS OF LETTER AND WISH TO BE
AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE TO CONGRESSMEN. PREPARATORY MEETING
IS NOW AT A DELICATE STATE, HOWEVER. IF USDEL IS SEEN AS
ASSOCIATED WITH LETTER, WE COULD BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE
INTRODUCED SUBSTANCE INTO TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS, AND
SOVIETS COULD ATTEMPT TO USE THIS AGAINST US, PARTICULARLY
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WITH THOSE ALLIED AND NEUTRAL/NON ALIGNED (NNA) DELS WHICH
ARE NERVOUS ABOUT US HUMAN RIGHTS INTENTIONS. OUR PREFERENCE
WOULD BE TO FIND SOME MEANS OF SATISFYING CONGRESSMEN'S
INTERESTS WHILE MINIMIZING POSSIBLE NEGATIVE COMPLICATIONS
IN PREPARATORY MEETING. WE WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S
GUIDANCE BEFORE TAKING ANY ACTION. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER SIGNED BY BIPARTISAN GROUP OF 71 REPRESENTATIVES AND TRANSMITTED TO US UNDER COVER OF LETTER FROM CONGRESSMAN WOLFF TO AMBASSADOR. BEGIN TEXT:
"DEAR DELEGATES:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT ANY AGENDA FOR THE UPCOMING BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE SHOULD PROVIDE FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF EFFORTS TO MONITOR COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE ACCORDS.

THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT TREASON CHARGES WERE BEING PREPARED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AGAINST MR. ANATOLY SCHARANSKY IS HIGHLY DISTURBING TO US AND TO ALL AMERICANS. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS ANNOUNCEMENT, AND ITS TIMING, EXTEND FAR BEYOND THE SERIOUSNESS OF THIS PATENTLY SPURIOUS CHARGE FOR MR. SCHARANSKY. THEY EXTEND FAR BEYOND THE ISSUE OF THE REPRESSION OF SOVIET JEWS.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF SCHARANSKY'S ARREST MUST BE VIEWED IN LIGHT OF THE PREVIOUS ARRESTS OF EIGHT OTHER RUSSIAN CITIZENS WHO, LIKE SCHARANSKY, WERE COMMITTED TO MONITORING THE COMPLIANCE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT. THE INFORMATION WHICH THESE INDIVIDUALS COLLECTED AND DISSEMINATED IS, OF COURSE, VITAL TO ANY PROPER ASSESSMENT OF THE COMPLIANCE OR NON-COMPLIANCE OF ANY GOVERNMENT WHERE ACCESS TO SUCH INFORMATION BY INTERA
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NATIONAL OBSERVERS IF LIMITED.

THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WAS PLANNED TO ENABLE NATIONS TO HAVE A 'THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS' ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE FINAL ACT. WE CANNOT LIGHTLY DISMISS THE ARREST BY A HELSINKI SIGNATORY OF ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT AND ARTICULATE MEMBERS OF THE WATCHDOG GROUP ESTABLISHED TO MONITOR SOVIET COMPLIANCE, IN PURSUIT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL GOALS AND IDEALS UPON WHICH HELSINKI WAS BASED -- THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS AND THE PROMOTION OF SECURITY, COOPERATION AND PEACE.

WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT MUCH OF THE INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF HELSINKI PROVISIONS WAS MADE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE NOW BEEN ARRESTED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

THESE ARRESTS NOT ONLY DEMONSTRATE A COMPLETE LACK OF SOVIET COMMITMENT TO ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER BASKET THREE; THEY

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SUGGEST THAT SOVIET OFFICIALS WILL ARROGANTLY FLAUNT THEIR
REFUSAL TO ABIDE BY THE AGREEMENT SO SOLEMNLY SIGNED JUST
TWO YEARS AGO. SUCH SCORNFUL TREATMENT OF THE AGREEMENT'S
PROVISIONS DOES NOT AUGUR WELL FOR THE FUTURE UTILITY
OR CREDIBILITY OF THE AGREEMENT ITSELF.

AT HELSINKI, DIFFICULT CONCESSIONS WERE MADE ON ALL SIDES IN
THE NAME OF HARMONY AND SECURITY. IF A SIGNATORY SUCH AS
THE SOVIET UNION THEN CLEARLY INDICATES ITS INTENTION TO
DISREGARD ITS COMMITMENTS, SUCH DISREGARD MAY EFFECTIVELY
CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT BECOMES VALUE-
LESS.

HELSINKI WAS A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT, AND IT WOULD BE A
TRAGEDY FOR SUCH AN AGREEMENT TO LOSE ALL FORCE. YET IT
WOULD ALSO BE A TRAGIC ERROR FOR ANY NATION TO ASSUME THAT THE
UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO LEND WEIGHT AND SUBSTANCE
TO AN AGREEMENT, PORTIONS OF WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS FOR
ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES DISMISSED AS INAPPLICABLE.

FOR THE UNITED STATES, BASKET THREE WAS, AND IS, PROFOUNDLY
SIGNIFICANT. IT SERVES TO EMPHASIZE THAT PEOPLE ARE THE
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BASIC UNITS OF OUR PLANET, NOT NATIONS, THAT THESE PEOPLE

SHARE A COMMON HERITAGE OF HUMANITY. HELSINKI'S FINAL ACT INDICATES RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THERE ARE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, RIGHTS WHICH NO NATION MAY ABRIDGE. WE MUST NOT PERMIT THE ACHIEVEMENT WHICH IS HELSINKI TO BE TRAMPLED UPON THROUGH THE ARRESTS OF THOSE WHO HAVE WORKED TO UPHOLD IT.

TO PRESERVE THIS AGREEMENT, THEREFORE, WE URGE ALL DELEGATIONS TO INSIST UPON A FORMAL DISCUSSION OF EFFORTS TO MONITOR GOVERNMENTAL COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF HELSINKI. IF ACCESS TO VITAL INFORMATION IS DELIBERATELY AND BLATANTLY SHUT OFF, THEN THE VALUE OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS IS DIMINISHED ACCORDINGLY.

WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT WE MAY MOVE FORWARD IN A CONSTRUCTIVE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER, AND THAT THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT WILL TRULY SERVE TO BETTER MANKIND AS NATIONS COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE ACCORDS IN AN ARDENT DESIRE TO WORK TOWARD A HIGHER GLOBAL ORDER. SINCERELY." END TEXT.

2. DELEGATION HAS BEEN RECEIVING SEVERAL LETTERS AND PETITIONS EACH DAY FROM INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS WHO WISH US TO TAKE SOME ACTION AT BELGRADE. WE DESIRE TO BE AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE AND WILL BE ADVISING DEPARTMENT BY SEPTTEL OF HOW WE PLAN TO HANDLE ROUTINE CORRESPONDENCE. LETTER FROM SUBSTANTIAL CROSS-SEGMENT OF US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HOWEVER, IS A MORE SENSITIVE MATTER. SIMPLEST WAY TO RESPOND TO CONGRESSIONAL REQUEST WOULD BE TO MAKE COPIES OF LETTER, PLACE THEM IN 34 ENVELOPES, AND REQUEST SECRETARIAT TO DISTRIBUTE THEM TO EACH DELEGATION. BECAUSE OF HIGH RANK AND PRESTIGE OF LETTER'S SIGNERS, IT WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE AT LEAST A QUASI-OFFICIAL STATUS, AND IT CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN DISTINCTION THAT IT WAS NOT A DOCUMENT WITH WHICH USDEL WAS ASSOCIATED OTHER THAN AS POSTMAN. WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT DEPARTMENT SHOULD HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE RAMIFICATIONS AND ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION BEFORE WE ACT ON CONGRESSMAN WOLFF'S REQUEST.

3. AS DEPARTMENT KNOWS, WE ARE TRYING TO AVOID INTRODUCTION OF SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS DURING PREPARATORY MEETING. WE CONSIDER THAT BEST WAY TO OBTAIN AN AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROCEDURES THAT WILL PERMIT US TO DEAL WITH SUBSTANCE AS WE DESIRE AT MAIN MEETING IS TO KEEP SUMMER SESSION TO TECHNICAL TASKS SET OUT IN FINAL ACT. SOVIETS ARE SEEKING TO OBTAIN AN AGENDA THAT WILL BURY REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IN GENERAL AGENDA ITEM DEALING WITH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE AND THAT WILL BE

HEAVILY WEIGHTED TOWARD FUTURE RATHER THAN TOWARD ASSESSMENT OF HOW FINAL ACT COMMITMENTS HAVE BEEN OBSERVED SINCE HELSINKI. WE EXPECT THEY WILL FIGHT US ON ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS AS WELL IN AN EFFORT TO GET PREPARATORY MEETING TO ADOPT WORKING PROCEDURES THAT WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR US TO OBTAIN THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION.

4. IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A SATISFACTORY AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES, WE NEED STEADFAST SUPPORT FROM ALLIES AND INFLUENTIAL NNA GROUP. MANY OF THESE DELS ARE NERVOUS

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ABOUT EFFECT A SHARP SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION OVER HUMAN RIGHTS COULD HAVE ON CSCE. SOVIETS, WHO THEMSELVES APPEAR UNCERTAIN ABOUT HOW US WILL PLAY HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AT MAIN MEETING, ARE LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO PLAY ON ALLIED AND NNA FEARS IN ORDER TO ISOLATE US. THEY MAY SEE IN A CONGRESSIONAL LETTER WITH WHICH USDEL IS AT LEAST INDIRECTLY ASSOCIATED AND WHICH RAISES SCHARANSKY AND ORLOV GROUP IN FAIRLY BLUNT TERMS A CONFIRMATION OF THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS. THEY COULD TRY TO TAKE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE EITHER BY RAISING MATTER IN PLENARY OR BY FEIGNING OUTRAGE IN INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH SUSCEPTIBLE DELS. THEY MIGHT ALSO EMPHASIZE CONGRESSIONAL ASPECT IN ORDER TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT PARTICIPATION IN USDEL OF MEMBERS OF CSCE COMMISSION AND STAFF, EVEN THOUGH NO MEMBERS OF COMMISSION SIGNED WOLFF LETTER.

5. WE DO NOT WISH TO TAKE LETTER OUT OF PERSPECTIVE. IT IS NOT GOING TO BE DECISIVE FACTOR EITHER IN DETERMINING SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD BELGRADE MEETINGS OR IN DETERMINING WHETHER WE ARE SUCCESSFUL AT PREPARATORY MEETING IN OBTAINING SATISFACTORY DECISIONS ON AGENDA AND WORKING PROCEDURES FOR FALL. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT WILL NOT ADVANCE OUR
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LIMITED TECHNICAL OBJECTIVES AT PREPARATORY MEETING AND COULD WELL MAKE TASK MORE DIFFICULT.

6. ON OTHER HAND, IF CONGRESSMAN WOLFF WERE AGREEABLE, THERE MAY BE OTHER MEANS TO CONVEY TO CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS STRONG CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT ABOUT SCHARANSKY AND ABOUT NEED FOR A THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AT MAIN MEETING. ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE FOR CONGRESSMAN WOLFF TO SEND LETTER TO WASHINGTON EMBASSIES OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE OR, ALTERNATIVELY, DIRECTLY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL MAIL TO DELEGATIONS OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE CARE OF SAVA CENTER CONFERENCE HALL IN BELGRADE. FORMER METHOD WOULD REDUCE CHANCE THAT LETTER WOULD BECOME POINT OF CONTROVERSY IN PREPARATORY MEETING NEGOTIATION, AND LATTER METHOD WOULD MAKE CLEARER THAT USDEL WAS NOT SEEKING TO INTRODUCE SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS AT PREPARATORY MEETING. CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT HAS GIVEN ASSURANCES THAT IT WILL DELIVER ALL MAIL ADDRESSED TO A SPECIFIC DELEGATION.

7. ANOTHER METHOD THAT MIGHT BE EMPLOYED IF CONGRESSMAN WOLFF WERE AGREEABLE WOULD BE FOR USDEL TO GIVE LETTER SELECTIVELY TO THOSE DELEGATIONS WHERE WE THINK IT WOULD BE TACTICALLY USEFUL. PROBABLY WE WOULD NOT WISH TO GIVE IT TO SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES AND TO NNA STRONG BIPARTISAN INTEREST IN US FOR FINDING WAY TO CONDUCT A SERIOUS AND HONEST REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION RECORD THIS FALL. FINALLY, IF LETTER'S SIGNERS WISH TO GO ON RECORD WITH SOVIETS, CONSIDERATION MIGHT BE GIVEN TO HOLDING LETTER BACK FOR TIME BEING AND TO REDRAFTING IT WITH A VIEW TO HAVING USDEL CIRCULATE IT TO ALL DELEGATIONS DURING MAIN MEETING.

8. WE WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS.
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Message Attributes

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Decaption Note:
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